FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist; and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 39. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, AUGUST 12, 1900. WHOLE NO. 279.

THE ROAD BUILDERS.

("Who built the beautiful roads?" queried a friend of the present order, as we walked one day along the macadamized driveway of Fairmount Park.")

I saw them toiling in the blistering sun,
Their dull, dark faces leaning toward the stone,
Their knotted fingers grasping the rude tools,
Their rounded shoulders narrowing in their chest.
The sweat drops dripping in great painful beads.
I saw one fall, his forehead on the rock,
The helpless hand still clutching at the spade,
The slack mouth full of earth.

And he was dead,
His comrade gently turned his face, until
The fierce sun glittered hard upon his eyes,
Wide open, staring at the cruel sky.
The blood yet ran upon the jagged stone;
But it was ended. He was quite, quite dead:
Driven to death beneath the burning sun,
Driven to death upon the road he built.

He was no "hero," he; a poor, black man,
Taking "the will of God" and asking naught;
Think of him thus, when next your horse's feet
Strike out the flint spark from the gl-aming road;
Think that for this, this common thing, The Road,
A human creature died; 'tis a blood gift,
To an o'erreaching world that does not thank.
Ignorant, mean, and soulless was he? Well,—
Still human; and you drive upon his corpse.

Philadelphia, July 24, 1900. VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

LESSONS FROM CHINA.

We are having wars in all parts of the earth. They are exterminating some, and educating others. We have learned of the Boers and the Filipinos; and now we are to learn something of the Chinese, one of the oldest, if not the oldest nation on earth. We who claim enlightened civilization, have no foundation for such a claim but our bigotry. We know and acknowledge that we do not know it all; and in the science of living we are far behind the Chinamen, who, from the experience of thousands of years, have passed through all the fads, and have at last settled down to a basis of living found to be most conducive to their happiness. A highly educated Chinaman asserts that they look upon the white race as barbarians. Wars which China has had in the past ages, and waged so furiously against them, have never succeeded in destroying their nation. They say we come to rob them, which is true; to build railroads, mills etc., which they do not want; for they consider them unnecessary; and if they desired them, they could buy them themselves. They are not in such a hurry as we, and it is not for their comfort or pleasure, that we seek to enter their territory to build railroads, etc., to but trade. They do not desire to trade; as they contend, and have observed from other nations, that trade is demoralizing and a means of robbery and oppression. China is self-sustaining, even though the population is dense. What they manufacture is good, and not of the shoddy quality turned out of the American factories. The people are contented and happy; but the missionaries come and teach them everlasting punishment, which frighten their children, intimidate the old and weak-minded; and at last the Chinamen have concluded to get rid of them. They cannot drive them out; so they have decided to kill them. Who are the aggressors? When will people learn to leave other people to live their lives in their own way? Had China, with her large population, adopted the McKinley, John Bull policy of invasion, all would be different; but they have stayed at home, content with their own country, and ask us to stay out. We are responsible for the Chinamen who are here. Shylock Huntington and others first induced them to come; and when once here, they succumbed to the American money craze; and they at once proceeded to bank on future idleness; and also being generous enough to desire their friends to do likewise, wrote home for them to come also. We cannot blame them for trying to better their condition.

The Chinese are not slow to learn; and with their quick perception, power of endurance, and force of numbers, what the outcome of the present trouble will be, no man can foretell. We, however, will get rid of a lot of scum, and know more of that vast country China.

We are in fact envious of the Chinaman. We are prejudiced against them, because the methods they have learned to use, the science of living which they have mastered, the simple healthful mode of dress, and quick perception enable them to be masters of labor, and against whom the American laborer cannot compete. In the labor market, they are more independent than the whites.

Shylock and the preachers are causing all the trouble, and always have. China has taken the proper step; and now let us do our part by reasoning our boys out of joining the army; and let the military spirit die out; and with their crutches taken away, Shylock and the preachers will cease to disturb the people; for with the armies extinct, the people will not tolerate them.

New Whatcom, Wash. E. A. TAYLOR.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

The quotations from Mrs. Hugh Pentecost's article, in Free Society of July 15, illustrate the power of association of ideas to prejudice and befog our minds. The bare mention of "Women's Rights" is so obnoxious to many men and women, that they lose the ability to reflect or reason on anything that comes under that head. Now let us talk of "Equal Rights," which I believe is a welcome subject to all men and women.

In the matter of proposals of marriage, it is first to be be taken into consideration that there are women of masculine make-up, and men of feminine make-up; and masculine ways are more natural to such a woman; and feminine ways are more natural to the man; it is the desire of such a woman to propose, and to take the initiative in everything, and it is torture to the man to have to propose and to take the initiative. Every person who is able to reflect, knows that a man may be the bravest of the brave, except in approaching a woman. Miles Standish was not lacking in courage or bravery; and I have personally known men who had the courage of their convictions, the courage to live nobly in the face of all temptations, who lived years of torment and loneliness because they lacked the courage to make a proposal of marriage. Social sentiment is not so just as fact. Society today would be purer and nobler, if there was less sentiment, and more of the facts of the real conditions of men and women, and their needs made known.

There are various reasons besides those already mentioned, why a woman many times should be the one to propose marriage. The fairest way would be for society to leave men and women alone in this matter, and permit each one to choose his or her own method. Practically many a woman proposes; and barring sentiment, what is the difference between a direct and indirect proposal? False sentiment makes it shameful for a woman to make a direct declaration of love to a man, but very proper to do the same thing indirectly. Let every woman use her own judgment; if she has poor taste she must take the consequences in this, as in many other cases.

The statement that "difficulty provokes attempt; and pursuit pleases men" like many another statement, holds only under certain conditions, and with certain kinds of men. This in a nutshell, is the reason why there should be no fixed rule for proposals of marriage. The love that is challenged by woman's fascinations and intrigue, is not a very high ideal. Passion may be stirred by these methods; and a little brimstone will set it blazing; but love grows like a flower, and needs nor heeds a challenge. The man who loves a woman needs naught but to know the love is returned. Herein is the way for a woman to learn whether it is passion or love that attracts a man's attentions.

There is no danger of true "gallantry" dying among women who are true and frank; for they appeal to the noblest in a man's nature, and call out such respect and reverence as no arts and wiles can ever discover. The great difficulty of social life is the ungovernable passions of men; and it is the women who have created this difficulty, by appealing to the passions instead of the manliness of men. *Men will rise to the level of woman's eyes.* When women appeal to the noblest in man, the noblest will answer. Women who think to make themselves attractive to men and win their love by appealing to their sensual nature, may succeed in provoking a proposal; but they are weaving ropes of sand, and will harvest something very different from love.

It is true that "men and women have their own distinctive spheres," and also that millions of women stand shoulder to shoulder with men in the work of earning a livelihood, and should have equal opportunity and equal recompense. The woman who would "rather be an old maid" than propose to a man, should certainly have that privilege, and is in no danger of being debarred from exercising it; but any other woman of a different mind should have the same privilege of choice, without criticism or comment.

Let us consider that different natures need different methods of action, and different modes of expression; and not undertake to set up a fixed standard, and insist upon all men and women following it.

MABEL GIFFORD.

MORE ABOUT VACCINATION.

C. L. James does not see anything invasive about the law requiring children to be vaccinated, before admission to the public schools. As the law also requires that children *must attend* the public schools, it seems as though it would not be hard to see the invasion. Anti-vaccinationists do not want their children's minds poisoned with State education (a mixture of religion, jingoism and faddism, the latter word including vaccination,) but they cannot always help it; and so when they cannot prevent all of the outrages, they prevent what they can.

Mr. James assumes that vaccination is a preventative of small-pox. It is clearly an outrage to poison the blood of healthy people, especially when it cannot be proven that vaccination ever prevented a single case of small-pox. On the contrary, it is easily shown that vaccination has *caused* small-pox and other diseases which have terminated fatally in many cases.

Suppose, instead of mere assumption, it were a fact that vaccination prevented small-pox, why advocate *compulsory* vaccination? Mr. James' children who attend the public schools, having been vaccinated *cannot* take small-pox, no matter whether my non-vaccinated children are there or not. Why does Mr. James complain? He says my children have a sacred right to have small-pox; and as his cannot have it, I know of no reason why he should complain, unless his desire to rule is greater than his love of liberty.

When Mr. James talks about the opponents of compulsory vaccination having a "sacred right to have small-pox," he shows, as I have often noticed with sorrow, that supposed radicals can easily sink to the depths of Christian bigotry when hard up for an argument.

Mr. James is the unmistakable leader in the "movement in favor of ignorance." J. A. WILSON.

Amesbury, Mass.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."
Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

James F. Morton, Jr. . . Editor | A. Isaak. . . . Publisher

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 336 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visitors off Market St. Castro car.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary

ARE ANARCHISTS CRIMINALS?

We are accustomed to misrepresentation. The silly canards which have been afloat in the newspaper press during the past week do not find as ready acceptance as in former days. Our years of earnest, straightforward agitation have borne some fruit; and all except a few half-wits know that we are not a band of plotters, who perform dark deeds at the behest of some secret Executive Committee.

Every Anarchist is a believer in liberty, and an enemy of invasion. Many of us believe in education alone, and utterly oppose all recourse to violent deeds. Some are absolute non-resistants, expecting to achieve all things by peaceful methods. Others believe in forcible resistance to invasion, but in no violence beyond that required for self-defence. A few others are terrorists, especially in such countries as Russia, Spain, Italy, where free speech is stifled, and peaceful propaganda is met with persecution, imprisonment, and murder. This is not because they are Anarchists, but because they are victims of oppression. In countries where Socialists, Republicans, or Constitutional Monarchists, undergo the like persecution, they too resort to terrorism.

Anarchism, as such, is an entirely peaceful doctrine, the corner-stone of which is non-invasion. Trampled on, the average Anarchist is neither more nor less ready to fight than any other man. Each acts on his own responsibility, and at his own risk. It is not the Anarchist propaganda, but a sense of suffering, and the observation of organic injustice in society, that lead individuals to regard tyrannicide as the least of evils. The talk of conspiracy is the veriest chimera that ever emanated from a human brain. Were there no Anarchist propaganda, there would be as many assassinations as have actually taken place. The only difference would be that the avengers of real or supposed wrongs would not be called Anarchists.

Anarchists are very like other men and women, with the same sympathies, love of art, literature, and science, enjoyment of the beauties of nature, delight in social intercourse, tastes, and aspirations. The only difference is that we believe the evils of today to be derived from the root-principle of authority. We prefer voluntary social and economic association to compulsory association. What candid mind can discern anything criminal in this? We recognize the fact that at present we are in a small minority; and all we ask of the majority is to be met in the spirit of fair play. If our theory is impracticable and unworkable, it is still not to be feared. All we seek is the opportunity to explain to the people why we think it is more than a dream. If we can present so strong reasons as to convince the people of the superiority of our ideal, then assuredly the experiment ought to be tried; if not, the propaganda will prove to be mere harmless vaporing. Treat Anarchists like human beings, instead of like wild beasts; cease to persecute them, and to refuse them ordinary justice; let them have the right of free speech accorded to all other theorists; and you will hear no more of Anarchist "outrages." It is the law, not Anarchy, that breeds criminals.

The newspaper misrepresentations are what we have expected, although even here progress has been made. Most of the papers admit that there are many "good" Anarchists, whom they charitably class as "weakminded." One San Francisco paper divides Anarchists into two classes, and places the honest and non-criminal element in the majority, for which concession we are duly grateful. Another denounces "this type of Anarchists," rather than Anarchists as a class. A third denounces the assassin with the utmost bitterness, but is entirely silent with reference to Anarchists and Anarchy. The world moves indeed. We have lived down many of the calumnies against our movement; and the rest will die out, in the progress of intelligence. Anarchy means simply liberty—a free life in peace and brotherhood. Long live Anarchy!

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

NOTES.

The Paris Congress has been fixed for Sept. 19; but reports from America ought to be sent from here by Sept. 1, in order to arrive in time. I have received word from many comrades, but hope to hear soon from all the leading centres. Remember to send me information with regard to the present condition of the movement. Comrade William Holmes, 1602 Humboldt St., Denver, Col., is preparing a historical survey of the Anarchist movement in America, and would be glad to hear at once from all who can assist him by giving some account of the work in their locality during the past decade.

◆ ◆ ◆

Since my name now appears as editor, by mandate of the postal authorities, I shall not think it necessary to sign editorial matter in future. Hereafter, all unsigned matter, except advertisements, unless marked as a quotation, will be written by the editor.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

CURRENT NEWS.

The Rev. T. De Witt Talmage is again in Russia, and makes haste to kiss the dirty feet of the czar. His eulogy of Russian tyranny after his previous visit, may have something to do with the cordiality of his reception on the present occasion—a reception which would assuredly not have been tendered to any man who had not signalized himself as a hater of liberty and an enemy of the people.

◆ ◆ ◆

The daily papers had a great deal to say about an alleged plot of Chicago Anarchists to free Alexander Berkman by tunnelling under the Alleghany prison. But when it was discovered that the tunnel was made to assist in the escape of a fraudulent real estate speculator, and that no Anarchist had anything to do with it, these great organs of public opinion did not think it worth while to make the correction. A widely published lie had accomplished the desired end of reawakening prejudice against Berkman; and it would not do to dispel the impression, by telling the simple truth. Such is the "honesty" of the daily press.

◆ ◆ ◆

In Louisville, Ky., a little girl of seven years old, hardly more than a baby, took a ride in a buggy without permisson, and was arrested on a charge of horse stealing. The papers say she may be sent to a Reform School. Poor baby! The courts will soon sentence the crying infant in its cradle for "disturbing the peace."

◆ ◆ ◆

The infatuation of governments continues. Violent deeds, provoked by force and by the denial of liberty, are to be cured by still more force and still greater denial of liberty. Very few advocates of a change in the constitution of society will commit or incite to acts of violence, so long as they are allowed to propagate their ideas in peace. Persecution begets conspiracy and terrorism.

We are informed that Bresci is being tortured "as far as the law allows." All civilized nations were supposed to have abolished torture long ago. Can its revival in Italy lead to anything but an evocation of the most brutal passions on both sides?

◆ ◆ ◆

Police outrages against Anarchists have recommenced in Chicago. The mere intention of holding a meeting is punished as a crime, in this land of "free speech." Here is the unvarnished newspaper account:

There was no attempt at street speaking, and no disturbance of the peace. When the vanguard of the Anarchists arrived at the hall, the orders of Captain Wheeler, at the direction of Acting Mayor Walker, refused them admittance. Pfuetzner, the man who called the meeting, stood near the door, and Captain Wheeler and his band of preservers of the peace sat on barrels across the street.

Then Lucy Parsons appeared. She found the door closed, and went across the street. While talking to Pfuetzner, she was ordered away by the police. The people around her were rushed out of the way; but Mrs. Parsons remained. Captain Wheeler gave her a push; and then she sat on the sidewalk and refused to move.

The policemen unceremoniously picked up Mrs. Parsons, and sent her to the station. A man across the street cried: "Shame." The word was hardly said, when the officers bundled him into the wagon after Mrs. Parsons. Next it was Pfuetzner's turn.

Think of it! Men and women, guilty of no offence whatever, arrested because they purposed to express their opinions in a hall paid for with their own money. What were they going to say? Nobody knows; least of all the police. They were Anarchists; that was enough. All rights belonging to even the humblest individuals are denied to them. Is this liberty? Is it simple justice? A man is seized and hurried off to jail for crying "Shame!" on beholding a police outrage on a woman. In free America, one may not even express his thought. Whither will all this lead?

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

DISCORDS.

Why do Anarchists generally select only the best rulers as the victims of their infamous deeds? Look at the record, and see how often they do it. These for a few: Lincoln, Garfield, Carnot, Elizabeth of Austria, the czar who freed the slaves, and now Humbert.—San Francisco Examiner.

This is thoroughly dishonest. The Examiner is not so ignorant of American and European history as it pretends to be. Lincoln was killed by Wilkes Booth, the protagonist of a Southern plot. Not one of those concerned in it was an Anarchist. Guiteau, the assassin of Garfield, was also not an Anarchist. He was simply a madman, stamped as a murderer even before birth, by adverse prenatal conditions. Alexander II of Russia deserves no credit for freeing the serfs, when he was simply forced to do so. He was, especially in his later years, a reactionist who represented all that was worst in Russian tyranny. With all that, his assassins were not Anarchists, but advocates of constitutional government in Russia, driven to terrorism by persecution. But certain newspapers will stoop to any lies, in order to inflame popular prejudice against the Anarchist propaganda.

◆ ◆ ◆

"The Choir Invisible" as an appeal to sexual passion will, justly, take its place with the "Venus and Adonis" of Shakespeare, and the two will be laid with the Bible, the most obscene of all books, the last not fit to associate with the other two, on the book shelves and center tables of the prudest and primmest of households.—Blue Grass Blade.

"The Choir Invisible" is nothing of the kind, but a psychological study, which culminates in the triumph of conservative prejudices. There is no "appeal to sexual passion" in the whole book. The Bible is neither more nor less "obscene" than the unexpurgated Arabian Nights, the Mahabharata, Herodotus, and many other ancient, especially Eastern classics. Each of these expresses the feelings of the people of its own time—a time when the silly prudery of today was conspicuous by its absence.

◆ ◆ ◆

Edelman, the Anarchist who recently died, was at one time a member of the Socialist Labor Party. His expulsion marked an important stage in the Party's development. The peculiar mental warping of Edelman and his friends kept the Party in perpetual turmoil; and while he possessed a certain cleverness, his attitude toward political action made it necessary for the party to rid itself of him. After that, he dropped out of sight completely. Even his paper, "Solidarity," received little notice; and especially during the last five years, Edelman was almost forgotten. With him passed the last forlorn remnant of the "mild" flavored Anarchist. The blood and beer Anarchist carries very little weight excepting in the matter of saloon licenses. —The People.

This sort of misrepresentation may be extremely "scientific"; but it is not likely to aid the cause of

those who resort to it. Comrade Edelman did not drop out of sight, after he outgrew the S. L. P., until sickness and physical collapse compelled him to withdraw from public activity. But it is easy and cheap to slander the dead. The People makes a fanciful distinction between the "mild flavored Anarchist" and the "blood and beer Anarchist." The Anarchist propaganda is today stronger than ever in this country, as a well-reasoned philosophy, quite distinct from the caricatures offered to the world by opponents, under its name.

◆ ◆ ◆

Camille d'Arville is about to marry a Mr. Crellin. Here is what the famous opera singer says in a recent interview:

"Here is an offer for me to sing in opera—in the 'Princess Chic'; but Mr. Crellin is opposed to that, so I shall not accept it. I shall only sing in vaudeville again, if I sing at all before I am married. . . . When I am married, I shall give up the stage for good. It is Mr. Crellin's wish."

All which is respectfully referred to the partisans of marriage, who deem that under it, a woman retains her full freedom and individuality; and that it is no check to an artistic career. Notice that "Mr. Crellin" is already supreme master. He would not abandon his profession, because it was her wish or whim, but plays the tyrant over her in the most approved fashion.

◆ ◆ ◆

The mayor of Philadelphia says that hundreds if not thousands of women in that good old Quaker city, women of position and respectability, are addicted to the opium habit. "To this end," says Mayor Ashbridge, "our laws need to be radically amended."—The People's Republic.

There you have it again. Always this everlasting dependence on laws! It is no worse for a woman to be an opium fiend, than for a man. Neither can be cured by law. Abnormal desires are simply the product of abnormal social and economic conditions, and will seek expression, no matter what the laws are. Nothing but the overthrow of the said conditions can prove of the least avail. Try for once to get at the bottom of things, Mr. Mayor.

◆ ◆ ◆

Where is there intolerance like that of a country village, or freedom like that of a great city? I can imagine only one thing more tyrannical than a small State, and that would be an Anarchist commune. From all such abominations, Good Lord deliver us!—R. B. Kerr in Lucifer.

This man Kerr is a striking representative of a type unfortunately common among the mere hangers-on of progressive movements. They can sneer and slander; but they cannot reason. Kerr lauds British imperialism and the subjugation of weaker peoples—and all in the name of liberty! Then he talks of an "Anarchist commune" as "tyrannical." If he knew anything of Anarchism, he could not have made such a break. Liberty and tyranny are antithetic, and could not co-exist. A tyrannical commune would cease to be Anarchistic.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

THE MAN IN THE TOWER.

The apparent lethargy of the democratic spirit among the masses has duped the oligarchists. The pending campaign will dispel the illusion. Back of Bryan is the spirit of revolt. Socialism made Bryan, and Socialism is the flood that overhangs the existing order as the suspended sword overhung the head of Damocles. American Socialism is not the Socialism of Europe. It is a blind, onsweeping tide of thoughtless revolt against existing conditions. Its purpose is not to build, but to destroy. It knows nothing of its teachers, and is not led by those whose names appear as its foremost apostles. It is not the scientific Socialism of Marx, but the involuntary Socialism of Bryan, that has throned itself upon the national brain; and it is well that it is so.

◆ ◆ ◆

You may ask why? Because these two kinds of Socialism would achieve a radically different result. Socialism as represented by Debs would supplant the present order with another, which, coming by slow stages of constitutional action, would put off for at least a century any possible action of an economic character. Bryanism, on the other hand, is nothing but a sporadic upheaval of revolutionary discontent, and would and will lead to a revolutionary era, in which all ideas will run their course, and be given an opportunity to be exploited. Such an event must bring to the fore the most radical men of the nation, and with them the most advanced ideas of the times. Now we Anarchists believe that the fundamental tenets of the so-called scientific Socialism of the Debs party are as radically false as those of the capitalistic system. We do not wish to see authoritarian Socialism triumph, unless it may thus advance us nearer the goal of our own hopes—Anarchy. But we do know that, if the existing order should be violently overthrown by being disorganized through a general upheaval, we, the most thorough and the most advanced of all the parties of social change, would have an opportunity such as that offered to the Republicans of France in 1792 by the overthrow of the monarchy. The conditions then and now are similar. The destruction of royalty left chaos; the Jacobins drove the republican ideal into the brain of France by the force of popular violence, reacting blindly against one extreme, and hurled to the other by irresistible impulse, a law as immutable as that of gravity.

◆ ◆ ◆

At this stage of human progress, it is impossible for the masses of a nation to grasp and comprehend the philosophy of any complex system, political or otherwise. Especially is this true, when those masses are wage slaves, whose chief attention is at all times fixed upon a precarious "job," upon which their existence depends. Hence we can rely upon the people only as a blind force, to be directed by the intelligence of the few. Bryan today leads this blind force of revolt, himself as blind as his followers; for he does not realize the chasm that yawns before him. With the bauble of the presidency hanging before his dazzled eyes, he lashes an unchained tiger to action, thinking to mount his back and ride him into office at an easy canter. An Anarchist, and, above all, a revolutionist, I say: Cheer the fool on; hail the day that sees America's servile wage slaves transformed from beasts of burden to lions and tigers hunting for prey.

◆ ◆ ◆

Therefore, I repeat, the pending election may be pregnant with results. Bryanism may unwillingly let loose the lid of Pandora's fateful box, and sever the hair that holds Damocles' suspended blade. Anarchists are not in politics. Our time has not come. But let us bide our time. Revolution is coming. The spectre of imperialism has conjured up the phantom of the Commune. Extremes meet. Caesarism and Anarchism are the extremes of modern thought, and they must clash together sooner or later. The time may be even now near at hand.

◆ ◆ ◆

The future confronts the past. Progress brings them together, progress whose name is Tomorrow. There is in the social life no present. The past holds the sceptre; and the future rises in eternal rebellion. Born of this struggle, empires and republics take their rise, enter their decline, and totter to their final fall. In history, Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome are monuments that mark the course of this unending struggle. Monarchy, Republicanism and Democracy have run their course; and tomorrow Socialism and Anarchy appear in the natural and inevitable order of events. The age of perfection never dawns, but hangs a phantom upon the horizon of intellectual advance. We Anarchists are striving for the grandest ideal that so far has found conception; but its attainment will only open up a broader field for speculation and advance. That does not concern us now. Our present duty to ourselves is plainly marked. We need organization for concerted international action. Hence I urge the necessity of an international Anarchist league. Some have already responded favorably to the suggestion. Let others express themselves through our central organ, Free Society. Let plans be submitted for discussion in these columns. We need a short, comprehensive platform, and a simple organization, devoid of officialism and red tape. With these, we can command the world's attention.

THE MAN IN THE TOWER.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

MORTON'S LECTURES.

Comrade James F. Morton, Jr., the long and anxiously looked for propagandist, upon whom the hopes of the active San Francisco Anarchists had been centered, to revive the slackened energies of the radical movement in this city, has just finished his first series of lectures as advertised in Free Society, namely "What Liberty Means," "The Battle for Free Speech," "Trades Unionism," "Church and State in the Past and Present," "Why Marriage is a Failure," and "Ideal Anarchy."

"Liberty" the lecturer defined as a condition of society in which all individuals had perfect control over their own actions and affairs, and were enabled to shape their lives in obedience to their own tastes and desires.

In "The Battle for Free Speech," he traced the historical development of mental liberty during all ages, and showed that while we have made rapid strides toward the attainment of our goal, we are yet very far removed from it; the United States particularly, when viewed from its assumed advanced position, having in the past few years been guilty of some of the grossest violations of the principle of free speech that a country with its boasted liberties and constitutional guarantees could afford.

"Trades Unionism," while benevolent in its purposes and beneficial in its opportunities for the discussion of the social question, was shown by the lecturer to be unproductive of practical results because of its inability to reach the root of all contentions—monopoly.

"Church and State," the trying, troublesome, tumorous, treacherous, tottering twins, received a thorough overhauling; and their nefarious trades and pernicious co-operation were exposed by Comrade Morton, in an unsparing manner.

"Why Marriage is a Failure," was clearly shown by the speaker in the expression of the sentiment that marriage is a bond; and that while all bonds are detrimental to human wellbeing and happiness, the marriage tie was much more so, and much further reaching in its disastrous effects, because of the sex relations affecting the tenderest of human sentiments, and inharmony in those relations being the most irritating, and destructive of the very aims and objects of life itself.

It was gratifying to notice the large attendance of women, and their unusually lively participation in the discussion following the lecture upon this question. Being asked by one of them what the lecturer would favor in place of the marriage institution, he replied he held the adjustment of the sex relations by the simple principle of natural selection and attraction, without any outside regulation or interference whatsoever, as the most rational and satisfactory solution of the problem.

"Ideal Anarchy" Comrade Morton presented as that social condition under which all individuals have access to all natural resources; are unhampered in the development of all their faculties, and unrestricted in the gratification of their natural desires. Anarchy is not a system, he said, but a principle, allowing every individual full sway to enter into such associations with their fellow-beings as their mutual tastes and aspirations would lead them to, resulting undoubtedly in the most harmonious and grandest relationship of the human race.

The limited space of Free Society will not permit an extended report of all these lectures; but it may be stated, without the least exaggeration, that Comrade Morton is a far more thoroughgoing and scientific lecturer than to the writer's knowledge has addressed a San Francisco audience upon these topics for many years.

One of the winning cards of Comrade Morton is the spirit of kindness and fairness with which he treats the opposition, and which, if persevered in, is bound to attract a large number of those who are still on the fence.

An additional attraction at the lectures were the recitations and occasional refreshing snapshots of Comrade Lydia Todd. Said she on one of these occasions: "My body belongs to myself; and I claim exclusive control over the same and its actions, God, Government and Grundy to the contrary notwithstanding.

S. D.

Literature.

Anarchy. By Enrico Malatesta. *Is It All a Dream?* By James F. Morton, Jr. 47 pp. Published by Free Society. Single copies or small lots, 10 cents each. 50 or more copies to one address, 5 cents each.

This latest issue of Free Society Library will prove invaluable for propaganda purposes. Malatesta's essay is a classic, whose argument has proved absolutely irrefutable. It should be scattered broadcast throughout the country, as showing what Anarchists really believe, in opposition to the current misrepresentations. The supplementary essay has not appeared in print before, and is designed to answer the complaint that Anarchists are weak-headed dreamers. Better send for the pamphlet at once. If possible, order a quantity, and give them to inquirers and conservative friends.

279

The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

A LETTER FROM EMMA GOLDMAN.

DEAR COMRADES.—I see that friend H. M. Kelly and A. D. (I have been "forbidden" to write the full name) have refuted my statement, in my report, that they are the leading spirits of the London movement, if one can speak of a movement in London at all, at the present time. Knowing how extremely modest both of our comrades are, I knew that they would object to my statement; although Kelly admits and has repeatedly told me that Miss D. was the worker, while Miss D. has admitted the same about Kelly. Now, I admit that modesty is a virtue; well it were if we had more of it; but there is certainly such a thing as being too virtuous, which is positively unhealthy; and friends D. and Kelly are just in that state, when they will not admit of a fact which is admitted by every one who knows what they are in the propaganda field. When I said that D. and K. are the leading spirits of the movement, I did not mean to undervalue either Comrade Cantwell, Marsh, Tcherkessoff or Legatte (by the way, I only saw the latter once; and while I was in London four months, never heard anything of his activity, by which I do not mean to say that he is necessarily inactive). I only meant by it, that D. and Kelly are pushing, proposing the plans, when anything is to be done; and that they are the ones who carry everything to the finish, from the organizing of a social to a Commune demonstration, or the issuing of a manifesto. True, Miss D. is not a speaker; but what of that? I have long come to the conclusion that it is not through speaking we will ever change conditions; and that those who arrange things, who work quietly, who are ever ready to comfort, to cheer, to urge on, to dissuade, have done more for the cause than speeches or speech making. Both D. and K. have done all this toward me and others; and therefore I can only repeat, that if it were not for them, to urge the others on, very little indeed would be heard of Anarchy in London now.

Kelly refers to Comrade Kropotkin's work. Now, what Kropotkin has done is not what D. and K. are doing now; he is one whose work cannot be compared with the work of any one else; he has laid the cornerstone of modern Anarchistic ideas all over the world, and particularly in England; and yet with all his power and great genius, I venture to say that he has made more Anarchists among those who have had the pleasure to meet him, with his kindness and nobleness than with his books. This I do not say because of flattery for the man of letters; but because of admiration for the man with the big, pure heart and the simplicity of a child. In this, and not in talking lies the importance of one's work, (at least I think so) in this, too, lies the importance of the part both D. and K. play in London at the present time. Now, my dear Comrade D., and Harry—old chum, you can go on protesting all you like.

I shall soon be in a position to send in a report of our movement in Paris; but I can already tell you that the date of our Congress has been fixed for the 19th of September. The time is short, comrades; and if you wish to send suggestions or contributions, do it now.

Fraternally,

Paris, July 10. EMMA GOLDMAN.

Government is the cancer of society.

NEW MEXICO AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The Rutland Herald says:

We are not likely to have as much trouble with the native population of the Philippines as with our anti-expansionists; but the latter we certainly can take care of. They start out with a proposition which history does not warrant. They are wrong when they say that the United States did not acquire the Philippines because the people of those islands did not acquiesce in the cession, and that Spain alone could not convey the islands to us. It would be an exceedingly inconvenient theory for any nation to accept, and particularly so for the United States. The people of the great region we acquired from Mexico were not only not consulted, but they offered a strenuous resistance to annexation, particularly in New Mexico. In that territory the people made a determined effort to re-establish Mexican rule. One of the turned-down pages of American history relates to the summary way in which courtsmartial dealt with those who had broken their oath of allegiance to the United States. Logically if we are not in lawful possesion of the Philippines through our not obtaining the acquiescence of their people to the cession, we are not in lawful posession of New Mexico, California and their dependencies, and must give them up.

All right, Mr. Herald. Put it on record; and let it be known—that's all we ask from any paper. It would be a good thing if some one could write up that secret history. The turned-down pages of history ought to be turned up again; nobody is suffering from too much light on the facts. What made them turn this one down, anyhow? Was it because those who wrote American history were proud of it? Is America now making a bit of history that future historians will want to turn down, in this Philippine business which you say is so like that turned-down page?

But I wonder whether this Philippine war will really be made more popular, by comparing it to the Mexican war. At the beginning of that war, Abraham Lincoln, then a member of Congress, introduced in Congress a resolution intimating that the war was intentionally provoked by the United States government. I wonder if there was then any Senator Spooner to say:

"Nobody but an 'anti-imperialist,' who by his words and actions desired the dishonor of his country and the making of campaign material in a presidential year, could have so little of good faith as to make the brutal charge against the president of the United States that he had been responsible for the precipitation of hostilities."

During the Mexican war, James Russell Lowell wrote the original Bigelow Papers to satirize that war as both criminal and ridiculous. And General U. S. Grant, who fought in the Mexican war at a lieutenant, wrote of it in his old age, in his Personal Memoirs, that it was "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." So, if the Herald insists that Uncle Sam is acting as honestly now as he did then, there may be anti-imperialists who will not care to deny it.

All the above facts are commended to the attention of those who hint that no man can be respectable, if he says that the government of his country is playing the part of a bully and a scoundrel, in some international affair.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Sherburne, Vt.

CHORDS.

Ha! Ha! Emperor William III of Germany is an ingenuous humorist. To his troops departing for China: "Go forth! Spare none; take no prisoners; conduct yourselves so that no Chinaman will dare to insult a German for the next thousand years!" There were 4,000 of the German troops. There are 400,000,000 Chinese. It's simply horrible to punish a whole nation in such a bloodthirsty speech. Och! Meinselluf unt Gott!—Advance.

Senator Hoar has written another first class letter—for a *statesman*. But statesmen can't be real genuine men long at a time. They will call the government's action in the Philippines "a crime," and then turn right round and vote for the criminal. Such is life:—mixed with politics.—Rockland Independent.

We presume that if the stars and stripes happens to be carried ashore in China, while the "boys in blue are rescuing the missionaries," and looking after things in general, we will of necessity, claim the "slice" shadowed by the flag. It would be un-McKinley-like to take it away with the missionaries.—The People's Republic.

To insure McKinley's election, Hanna will not have the result declared till after the returns come in from London, Liverpool and other outlying republican precincts.—Pittsburg Kansan.

Mr. Astor, it is said, has taken offense at his exclusion from English society, and will return to the United States and become naturalized over here again. This is all right for Great Britain, but has Mr. Astor thought of what he is imposing on this country?—Freemen's Labor Journal.

In view of various things just now, the resemblance between the American eagle and the dove of peace is less than ever.—National Advance.

Government is man's apology to Nature for his failure to comprehend simple truths.—Farm and Factory.

A man's own conscience is his sole tribunal: and he should care no more for that phantom "opinion" than he should fear meeting a ghost if he cross the churchyard at dark.—Lytton.

RECEIPTS.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.

The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order.

Bool, $2. Wesseler, $1. Enderlein Strunsky, Johnson, Raaka, Curth, Eastwood, Baltiansky, Urbain, Leatheaume, Vangampelaere, Wilshire, Allen, each 50c. Taylor, 35c. Siegmeister, Dumas, each 25c.

ENLARGEMENT FUND.

Ruegi, $1. Geisler, 30. Seattle, Wash....	$1.30
Clausen, Santa Cruz, Cal.....	50
M Curth, Los Angeles, Cal.....	25

50 YEARS' EXPERIENCE.

PATENTS

TRADE MARKS, DESIGNS, COPYRIGHTS &c.

Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain, free, whether an invention is probably patentable. Communications strictly confidential. Oldest agency for securing patents in America. We have a Washington office. Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive special notice in the

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN,

beautifully illustrated, largest circulation of any scientific journal, weekly, terms $3.00 a year; $1.50 six months. Specimen copies and HAND BOOK ON PATENTS sent free. Address

MUNN & CO.,

361 Broadway, New York.

Free Society is sold by:

Chicago. C. Pinetzner, 469 Wabash Ave.
New York. M. Maisel, 254 Madison St.
Paterson, N. J., Jos Tilanus, 31½ Market St
San Francisco. R. Rieger 1705 Market S.
Radical books and pamphlets on hand.

BOOK LIST.

In lots of ten or more of each, five-cent pamphlets furnished at three cents.

Essays on the Social Problem....H. Addis	05
The New Hedonism.....Grant Allen	05
Prejudice?.....M. Bachman	50
God and the State.....Michael Bakunin	05
The Same. (London edition.).....	10
The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune 1871.....G. B Benham	25
The Worm Turns.....Voltairine de Cleyre	10
Evolution of the Family.....J. M. Crane	05
The Emancipation of Society from Government.....Dallan Doyle	05
Hilda's Home. Cloth $1.....Rosa Graul	50
Moribund Society and Anarchy. Cloth 60c.....Jean Grave	25
Marriage and Morality....Lillian Harman	05
Regeneration of Society..... "	05
Motherhood in Freedom...Moses Harman	05
How to Dispose of Surplus Products and Employ Surplus Labor...Kinghorn-Jones	05
An Appeal to the Young .Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal. "	05
Anarchist Morality..... "	05
Expropriation..... "	05
Law and Authority ..... "	05
Paris Commune..... "	05
Revolutionary Studies..... "	05
The State: Its Historic Role..... "	10
Wage System. Revolutionary Gov't... "	05
History of the Commune.Cloth..Lissagary	75
Anarchy.....Enrico Malatesta	05
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream, by James F. Morton, Jr.).....Enrico Malatesta	10
Commune of Paris.....William Morris	05
Monopoly..... "	0
The Tables Turned (rare)..... "	35
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition.....W. E. Nevill	05
An Open Letter to W. J. Bryan..... "	10
Mating or Marrying, Which? A Lesson from History. The Problem of Criminality.....W. H. Van Ornum	05
Evolution and Revolution.....E. Reclus	05
Direct Action vs. Legislation..J. B. Smith	05
Autobiography.....August Spies	25
Helen Harlow's Vow....Lois Waisbrooker	25
My Century Plant. Cloth..... "	1 00
The Temperance Folly.. ..... "	10
Wherefore Investigating Company..... "	25
Our Worship of Primitive Social Guesses.....E. C. Walker	15
Rivival of Puritanism..... "	10
What the Young Need to Know..... "	10
Life Without a Master A Treatise on the Rights and Wrongs of Men. 336 pages. Cloth $1 50.....J. Wilson, Ph. D.	1.00
The Chicago Martyrs: The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab.....	25
Responsibility and Solidarity in the Labor Struggle; also the German Social Democracy and Edward Bernstein.....	05

Germinal, an advanced fortnightly Anarchist journal. Published by R. Rocker, 59—a Stepney Green, London, E. Agent L. Malmed 327 E. 8th St., New York. Price $1.50.

Freiheit, a German Anarchist Communist weekly. Four large pages. $2 per year. Address, 69 Gold St., New York, N. Y.

Discontent, Mother of Progress. A weekly advocate of Anarchism. Price 50 cents per year. Address: Discontent, Home, Wash.

Freie Arbeiter-Stimme, a Jewish weekly of 16 pages, an advocate of Anarchist Communism, appears regularly at 181 Madison St., New York City. Price, $1.50 per year.

Freedom, monthly journal of Anarchist-Communism. Address: 7, Lambs Conduit Street London, W. C England. Price 40 cents pe year, postpaid. Order from Free Society.

Progressive Thought, the oldest organ of the Labor Exchange movement. It is full of L. E news, gives co-operative facts and advocates the way out of hard times. Address: Olathe, Kans. Send for sample copies.

Lucifer, the Light-Bearer. Weekly eight pages, $1 per year. This paper gives light on the Sex Question, Humanity's greatest need For Sample copies write to M. Harman, 507 Carroll ave. Chicago, Ill.

The Free Commune. A magazine of Libertarian Thought. Published Quarterly by The Leeds Free Communist Group. Address: W. MacQueen, 79 Markham Ave., Harehills, Leeds, England

Vaccination, a journal of health, published monthly for the Anti-Vaccination Society of America. Tells the truth about vaccination. 1328 North 12th St., Terre Haute, Ind Sample copy free.

Die Freie Gesellschaft, a Jewish monthly, containing 48 pages of original matter, an advocate of Anarchist-Communism, has been revived and will appear regularly. Well-known writers, such as Dr. Soltaroff, Dr. Maryson, Leontieff, Katz, Ginsberg, J. Gordin, and others will be the principal contributors. Price $1 per year. Single copies 10 cents. Address: 12 Jefferson St, New York, N Y.